THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

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PROPAGANDA
Good and Bad

A Radio Discussion by Archibald MacLeish, Harold Lasswell, *and* Richard McKeon

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MARCH 1, 1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

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No. 207

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

PROPAGANDA
Good and Bad

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, Director of the Office of Facts and Figures; Librarian of Congress; Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on War Information

HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Director of War Communications Research, Library of Congress; formerly with Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

RICHARD P. MCKEON, Dean of the Division of the Humanities, University of Chicago

* A radio discussion broadcast from Washington, D.C., over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, March 1, 1942, at 2:30 P.M., Eastern War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

PROPAGANDA
Good and Bad

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American propagandists are using the strategy of truth to fight the strategy of lies on the propaganda front. Elaborate mechanisms filter the facts from falsehoods, check rumors, dispel confusion. Americans, smugly proud of being the best-informed people in the world, are suspicious. "We want the whole truth," they say.

What bases determine what facts are to be disclosed on the military, diplomatic, and economic fronts? Is bad news being withheld and good news being emphasized by the government? What kinds of information are being, or should be, controlled by government? How much information is necessary for the formation of sound public opinions?

To answer these and other questions about propaganda, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress and Director of the Office of Facts and Figures, to participate in a discussion of "Propaganda: Good and Bad" with Harold D. Lasswell, Director of War Communications Research for the Library of Congress, and Richard P. McKeon, Dean of the Division of the Humanities at the University of Chicago.*

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MR. MCKEON: The problem of propaganda, which we have met to discuss this afternoon, seems to me only in part to be one of

functions and facts but to be largely a question of words. I'm not sure that the word "propaganda" has retained any good sense and that, therefore, good propaganda would, by that very fact, be bad propaganda.

MR. MACLEISH: I don't want to raise questions of verbiage, particularly at the beginning of this discussion, but I wonder whether the time hasn't passed when you could talk about "good" propaganda and "bad" propaganda. I wonder, in other words, whether our enemies haven't so slimed that word by their misuse and abuse of it that it is no longer possible to consider it as having any affirmative contents.

MR. LASSWELL: I would like to stick to the word "propaganda" as a word referring to skill. I think that it is one term that is fairly useful from a purely specialist point of view.

I do recognize, though, that in recent times the word has gotten into frightfully bad company; and I think that probably it has begun to obscure thinking about the problem of government in a democracy.

MR. MCKEON: Could you be a little more precise about the *good* sense of the word "propaganda" that you referred to?

MR. LASSWELL: Oh, yes! You remember the term "propaganda" was once used to refer to the foreign-missionary activities of the Roman church; and all the other associations it had were "plus." That seems to me to represent the *plus* side that we could usefully preserve.

Yet, I think that MacLeish's point is probably a very sound one, and I would be willing to forbear my special prejudices on behalf of this term "propaganda" if he feels that these other negative connotations have become too numerous.

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MR. MACLEISH: I think the American people are probably pretty wise and pretty right in feeling that the word can't be laundered; you can't wash it clean. I suggest that we drop it and, instead of talking about words or definitions of words, see whether we can agree upon what the job is that is to be done. Has a democratic government, as distinguished from a totalitarian government, any duties whatever in the field of information, particularly in wartime?

MR. MCKEON: I think we might take advantage of Lasswell's definition of propaganda to separate that question into two parts: the good propaganda that we are henceforth going to ignore was propaganda which, in part, imparted information and in part indicated a way of action. Am I correct?

MR. LASSWELL: Yes. That's a valuable distinction to keep constantly in mind: that to some extent propaganda was used to talk about the communication of facts and to some extent to talk about the communication of values, dreams, and aspirations.

MR. MCKEON: Bearing that in mind, it seems to me that your question concerning the duties of a democratic government could properly be divided into those two parts; and, as we discuss it, we are emphasizing three different aspects of the problem.

MacLeish, in your position the problem would be largely a question of facts, information, and how to handle the facts. Is that correct?

MR. MACLEISH: I should say with reference to the two aspects of the problem that Lasswell describes that a democratic government is more concerned with the provision of information to the people than it is with the communication of dreams and aspirations, the furbishing of ideals, and so forth. It would seem to me that that

latter job in a democracy is one for the people themselves. Their morale is their own concern.

MR. LASSWELL: Your point, then, is that the duty of a democratic government is to provide a realistic basis for the foundation of sound judgments?

MR. MACLEISH: Excellent phrase; put it into my mouth. I'll accept it.

MR. MCKEON: It is not only an excellent phrase but one rather difficult to understand. What do you mean by "realistic basis"?

MR. LASSWELL: We should try to clarify, if we can, what this idea of a realistic focus of attention means.

MR. MCKEON: I'd like you to approach it in terms of your special interest in the analysis of information. While MacLeish would be interested in the information that a democratic government can put at the disposal of its citizens, you have worked for a long time, Lasswell, with the techniques of propaganda and of propaganda analysis.

MR. LASSWELL: Yes, and it's possible to point out the kind of facts that are needed for sound judgments in a democracy. What we should do, I think, is give people some conception of the situation they're in, what's happening, and what their goals are. I think we ought to spell that out in terms that are meaningful and in terms that relate to the present situation.

MR. MACLEISH: Yes. Surely these are obligations of the government in the information field.

But let's look for a moment at the nature of the relation of a democratic government to its people. A democratic government,

after all, is by definition, by hypothesis, the servant of the people. It does not occupy the position of a totalitarian government, and this struggle is to determine that no government shall in this country.

Now, the distinction becomes very clear in the field of information. A totalitarian government—Mr. Goebbels', for example—not only decides what the people are going to think but sees to it, by various devices and means, that they think precisely that.

The government of a democracy, on the other hand, has a very different obligation, which is to provide the informational basis for the formation of a sound judgment.

MR. MCKEON: In terms of the distinction we made before, then, a democratic government would supply facts rather than fictions and would state issues that are genuine issues as opposed to those that were set up in the mind of the dictator?

MR. MACLEISH: A democratic government supplies truth and not lies, and it supplies truth and not lies which is relevant to the decisions to be made. It engages, in other words, in a strategy of truth, a phrase that we have been fond of using here in Washington and a phrase that I believe makes sense.

MR. LASSWELL: Then the point is essentially that it is our job to clarify reality as we honestly see it to our fellow-citizens.

MR. MACLEISH: Let's talk for a moment about the duty of the government in terms of the issue of this war. What is the duty of a democratic government in terms of giving the people, as you say, the basis for founding a sound judgment?

MR. LASSWELL: All right, I'll stick my neck out on that, and you can accept or reject as you see fit. I think the very first problem is to clarify the possible consequences of victory by our enemies.

MR. MCKEON: And as I understand you, that would mean both a positive and a negative series of consequences.

MR. MACLEISH: That's just where I'd like to pick you up, because I should suppose (and perhaps I misunderstand what you are saying) that by the positive aspect you mean the presentation of the great ideal of freedom and of liberty as the affirmative goal. There I am bound to say I don't think the government as such has a principal obligation. The government isn't the possessor of all truth about freedom and liberty. The people possess that. And many of the people possess it with a clarity and a passion with which few of us here in Washington possess it.

But there is another aspect to this—the negative aspect. That is, the presentation of the kind of world that we will live in if we don't win this war. I suppose the government has a definite duty to get this information before the people and to see that they understand it and that they make judgments on its basis.

MR. LASSWELL: I agree that you have a valid point there, but I would like to emphasize the affirmative, positive necessity for clarifying the sort of thing we are shooting after. It certainly seems to me that democratic leaders are very well advised when they say that the modern meaning of our ideals and aspirations for freedom are summarized in the four freedoms, or in some other formulation that has vitality and vigor and power, and can give to all of us a sense of the modern meaning of these venerable ideals that we all share.

MR. MACLEISH: That is a slightly different question. The one I thought McKeon was referring to—the redefinition of the emotional content of words like "liberty" and "freedom"—is a concern of the people, a concern of the citizens in a democracy. The state-

ment of the goals of democratic action and a statement of the goals of this government is certainly a duty of the government; and the statement of those goals has rarely been made more effectively than in terms of the four freedoms.

MR. MCKEON: I think you've put the specific statement of the democratic aims that I spoke of in my mouth. What I had in mind was something rather less and something which is, in a sense, involved in the statement of the issues of the war—providing the people with a realistic basis for the foundations of a sound judgment. It is perfectly true that the public has been, in many instances, in advance of the government in resolving issues and in readiness to accept sacrifices. But the government must also formulate those issues in a fashion which will permit more than instinctive adherence. I am afraid, in other words, that if we emphasize only the negative, we shall make a "bogeyman" of the propaganda of the enemy. If we fail to emphasize the positive, our facts need not be facts. Facts aren't facts merely by iteration but in the context.

MR. MACLEISH: Of course, if you sit on the opposition of the two words "negative" and "affirmative," you come out that way. If, however, you talk about the duty of the government, the obligation of the government, what the government can do that the citizens can't do in relation to these problems, then you're talking about a different question.

Now, for example, break this thing down a little bit further. Instead of talking about the issue, let's talk about the specific kind of information. Take, for example, government information on the military and diplomatic fronts. What would you say the government's job ought to be there?

MR. LASSWELL: Isn't the general principle to clarify the facts about military and diplomatic operations as far as possible consistent with the necessity of keeping certain secrets from the enemy?

MR. MACLEISH: "Keeping certain secrets from the enemy." Let's use the phrase that is used everywhere in Washington, which makes complete sense: "We are not going to provide information which will give aid and comfort to the enemy." Is that proposition generally understood and accepted in the country?

MR. MCKEON: I think so. The question of issues is, in part, one for the government to determine and in part one for individuals who discuss them on such radio broadcasts as this University of Chicago ROUND TABLE to determine.

MR. MACLEISH: Isn't that a touch of propaganda right there?

MR. MCKEON: I think that's an excellent point. I see no reason why we should not recognize that we are engaged in propaganda in the good sense that Lasswell has referred to.

MR. MACLEISH: For the University of Chicago?

MR. MCKEON: For the University of Chicago and also indirectly . . . .

MR. LASSWELL: That's *place* information.

MR. MCKEON: It's information about a source of information. Don't you think that we are contributing to the kind of faith that an agency of information needs by discussing these issues on the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE?

MR. MACLEISH: Oh, there's no question about it! It also gives us an opportunity to get behind some of the phrases which people don't ordinarily explore.

Take the phrase that Lasswell and I have agreed upon. We are not going to disclose information which will give aid and comfort to the enemy. I agree with you that that is broadly accepted. I think everybody understands why. There is some question in the minds of some people about just what information should be withheld, within those terms, and what information should be released.

Mr. Lasswell: The problem is where to draw the line. We have had a great deal of experience in running democratic and semi-democratic wars in the past. Isn't that so? And if we look around to see how certain of these problems have been solved by the Associated Nations, I think we can arrive at certain fairly clear principles to determine where the lines of demarcation lie.

Mr. McKeon: That is an excellent point. We tend, when we talk about information and communication, to think of what the enemy is doing, whereas we, as a democratic nation, have had a long history of informing the public and of using that information in times of crisis.

Mr. Lasswell: We've had so much experience in running democratic wars successfully, even in the history of the American nation, that we can face the issues which are involved with a great deal of basic self-confidence.

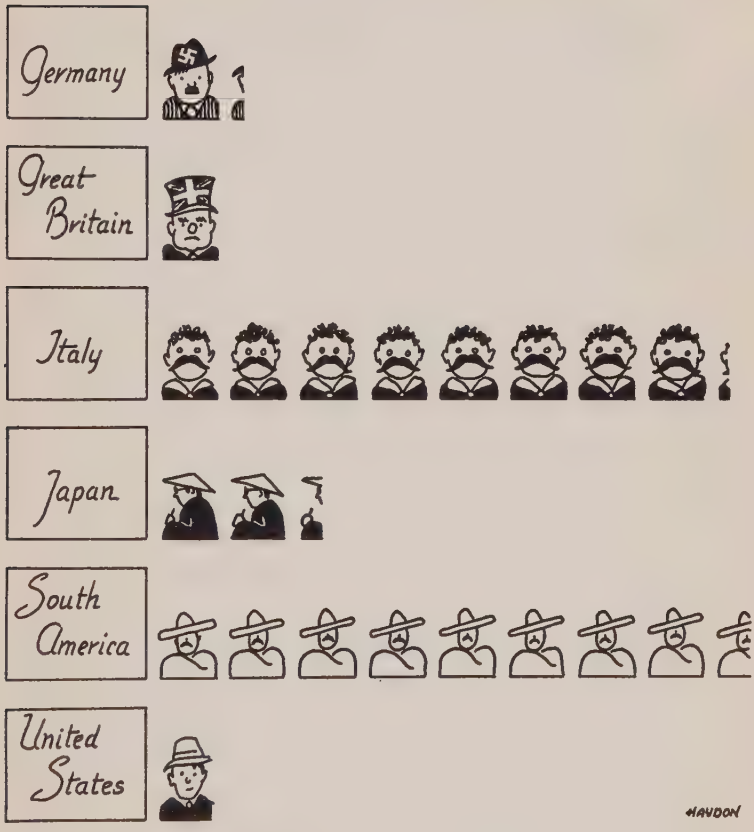
Mr. MacLeish: You can face them with a great deal of confidence in the confidence of the country also. There has been a considerable amount of talk about whether or not the government was telling the whole truth to the country. That is an interesting question and a question which deserves discussion.

Mr. Lasswell: May I put it in the vulgate? Will you tell the *tough* truth to the country?

RADIO: TOOL OF PROPAGANDISTS

Number of People per Radio in Selected Countries

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 5 PEOPLE



SOURCE: "BROADCASTING," 1940 YEARBOOK

MR. MACLEISH: The answer is, of course, "Yes." The answer is that the people of this country can take the tough truth, and are taking the tough truth, and do understand just how tough their situation is.

But the point I was going to make is this: You can't talk about the whole truth, and so forth, intelligibly unless you define your terms.

What is, for example, the practice of the Army and the Navy, who are charged with responsibility for the security of information regarding, let's say, naval losses? The practice of the British is well known and would be accepted by any reasonable man. As I understand it (I can't speak with authority), the British take the position that they will announce promptly sinkings which are known to have taken place in the sight of the enemy. For example, the *Barham* sank on December 24, 1941, and they announced her sinking a couple of weeks ago, because they weren't sure (and they were right) that her sinking had taken place in the sight of the enemy. As far as damage is concerned, no government in its senses will provide information as to damage to naval ships until that damage is repaired.

MR. LASSWELL: I don't think the American people would object to that if they clearly understand that that is the policy that must be pursued. We simply have the problem of making clear what it is that constitutes information that we must withhold from the enemy.

MR. MCKEON: But, coming back to this question of facts, what is the duty of the government in so far as information on the economic and productive front is concerned? What should the people be told? What should the people expect?

MR. MACLEISH: There you have exactly the same situation that

you have on the military front, because economic and productive information is military information in a war like this. I think you can make several observations, however, about production information which apply also on the military front and which are very pertinent. One is that we were thrown into this war rather in a hurry; that no preparations had been made, could have been made, for the form in which communiqués were to issue. For some weeks the armed services and people charged with responsibility in the production field have been feeling their way toward forms of communication which would give the country the kind of information it must have to understand and to criticize the effort, because criticism is more important in war than in peace.

Mr. Lasswell: Underline that point. That seems tremendously vital to me, and the American people must understand and feel confident that that is a guiding principle. That is to say, that in the administration of information services in wartime it is necessary to give the public the facts which they can use to criticize the government. That is exactly what you mean, isn't it?

Mr. MacLeish: You recall Wilson saying in the last war—in the spring of 1918, I think—that criticism was more important at that time than at any previous time in the history of the country. And it's just as true today.

Mr. McKeon: Like all the words we have been using, the word "criticism" would have to be separated into two senses. There is a pseudo-criticism, a disguised form of introducing disunity in the effort of the nation, and there is the real criticism which would occur after the fact and with respect to general policies.

Mr. MacLeish: That comes very close to another aspect of the

government's duties: the duty to inform the people of attempts made by our enemies to influence them. The government will have adequately performed its duty if it makes it clear to the people of the country that the aim of the Nazis and the aim of the Japanese is to divide us from our allies. For example, anti-British propaganda, which is sweeping through the country, which has been repeated by some of our own people innocently and by some, I am sorry to say, not innocently.

MR. LASSWELL: That is terribly important from all points of view. After all, one of the ways that every citizen can serve a war effort is by using his tongue responsibly, and that means knowing when not to repeat a rumor. And the very first need there is for him is to feel that he can turn easily to some authoritative source to discover whether a certain type of rumor is, as a matter of fact, the sort of thing that is coming from the Axis' propagandists.

MR. MCKEON: Don't you want to include not merely the question of separating ourselves from our allies but also the question of breaking us into groups within the nation? There would be a similar tendency on the part of propaganda from our enemies to attempt to separate us into groups, to spread hatred.

MR. MACLEISH: That is one of the clearest Nazi propaganda lines we put together, from time to time, in the Office of Facts and Figures in analyses of the propaganda line of the Nazis, which we receive from the Federal Communications Commission's monitoring systems and elsewhere. Certainly the predominant line has been to divide us from our allies, particularly from the British, if possible. They lie to us about the British and lie to the British about us. Their aim is to divide us within this country—Christians from Jews, Protestants from Catholics, Negroes from white people—

and to break down everything that would tend to unify us. After all, the principle is *divide and conquer*, isn't it?

MR. LASSWELL: And the fundamental point to be emphasized is: Whenever you overhear at the factory or on the streetcar anything that tends to cast a whole group of America's fellow-citizens into disrepute, the problem is not to pass it on as a rumor but to challenge it, to turn to some authoritative group in private life and in the government for information.

MR. MACLEISH: I'm going to hire you in the Office of Facts and Figures to print that information. That is good, valid information.

MR. MCKEON: Those are excellent rules, but I should like to add some others. In addition to questions of fact and information, such as MacLeish emphasized, and the techniques of rules that you have been emphasizing, my own emphasis would be upon the aims and objectives. I think there is some danger that we should think of this war in terms of instruments of production and of warfare, whereas the problem in addition is one of insight into the issues involved.

MR. MACLEISH: Forgive me, McKeon, but don't we have to keep coming back to what we are actually talking about here, which is the role of government?

There is a great mass of information in a war which comes not from the government but from the people. It is the people, the citizens, the responsible members of the community as a whole, who develop those inward values.

My notion is that the duty of the government is, and I come back to Lasswell's phrase, to provide a basis for judgment; and when it goes beyond that, it goes beyond the prime scope of its duty. There

may be occasions where it goes beyond it because the line is hard to draw, but fundamentally the things you are talking about, I think, are the duties of citizens and of citizens' groups; and there is no one in Washington who doesn't hope that citizens and citizens' groups will perform those duties.

MR. MCKEON: I think that is an excellent transition. We have talked about facts, as I understand it, under three general heads. We have talked about military and diplomatic facts, about facts that bear upon economic questions and production, and about facts that bear on the opinion front.

But the kind of information that could be expected from the government and from governmental agencies would constitute, as I understand what you have been saying, only a small fraction of all the information that is available and should be available to the people.

MR. LASSWELL: In addition, I think that we are talking about this from the standpoint of all the agencies of government. We are not for one moment implying that any one single agency of a democratic government must shoulder all the responsibility for deciding what facts are to reach the minds of the American people, on the basis of which they can arrive at a sound judgment. After all, the Congress of the United States, as well as the executive departments, has a vital responsibility for talking responsibly about facts.

MR. MACLEISH: I am very glad you made that point, because I think it is essential that we should make it clear, not only to one another, but to anyone listening to this broadcast, that we are talking about the information services of government. We are not, for example, talking about the great leaders of a government, who certainly concern themselves with the heart and soul and spirit of

the people and the people's work. We are not talking about the Congress, which is (if the members of the Congress will forgive me; I think it is a term of admiration myself) one of the greatest information offices and services in Washington and a place where ideas are really developed, spelled out, and cleared. What we are talking about here is the obligation of an information service, an impersonal government information service.

Mr. McKeon: I am glad you emphasized that, since that is a source of the information, the utterances, which get to the people from Congress which will not merely give us facts but a responsible criticism of facts and will aid in the formation and guidance of the opinion of the country at large.

Mr. Lasswell: In a democracy we depend on talk and we depend upon discussion. And you not only want to have itemized details given and called facts but you would like also to have it emphasized that a democracy must improve its technique of talk and, if possible, develop methods of responsible critical discussion and comparison?

Mr. McKeon: I go so far as to say that facts are not enough, although I think MacLeish is right that the government should almost limit itself to the relevant facts. I think that we need an aggressive attitude, and that aggressive attitude is one which the citizens themselves, individually or in groups, such as this group around the microphone of the University of Chicago Round Table . . . .

Mr. MacLeish: There he goes again!

Mr. McKeon: . . . . can create by formulating plans and policies and revitalizing ideals. I think that for twenty years we found it

rather difficult to talk in terms of the ideals that are embodied in the great documents of our democracy; and we are now beginning once more to be able to talk.

Mr. MacLeish: We are, indeed, and the talk is becoming clear and sure and moving talk. A great deal of it, as Lasswell points out, has come from Congress. There have been statements from the leaders of the country which have clarified and made visible the goals and aims of our life as nothing spoken in years has made them clear. That is the center, the moving spirit, of the thing.

On the other front, I maintain that the duty of a government information service is to provide the bases for judgment and understanding and to provide them in terms of information which will be useful for that purpose.

Mr. McKeon: This brings us back once more to the strategy of truth as opposed to the strategy of lies. I should agree that, in terms of a democratic organization, the strategy of truth does have the effect of indicating the ends as well as the materials.

We are in general agreement, then, in spite of the differences of our approach, that the government has a proper function as a source of information; that propaganda is quite different from information; and that the function of the government in dispensing news is one which should enter into a free but successful cooperation with other and private sources of information.

The function of the government would, then, not be one of persuasion or one of forming public opinion but rather one of supplying the materials in terms of which an enlightened public opinion might take its point of departure.

In these terms I think it would be correct to say that, when critics insist that the public has not been fully informed or accurately in-

formed, the implication is usually grim and the assumption is that the news is bad. The importance of public information is not that the public should know the worst (it might be good news occasionally) but that, knowing the worst, it may be given the force and persistence to turn errors and even disasters to good account in preparation for better news.

How Does War Affect Your Freedom?

You should read: *Our Liberties* (*173*) and *Civil Rights and "Public Danger"* (*196*). These discussions review the traditions of American liberty and report upon the effects defense and war have had upon them.

See listings on page 27

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 21–22.

*

1. What sources of information do you depend upon? Do you and the people in your community accept the necessity that "news as usual" can't continue in wartime? Discuss.

2. "Has a democratic government any duties whatever in the field of information?" In wartime what is the news responsibility of a democratic government? What kind of news does the government put forth? Should a democratic government supply interpretation of the news?

3. What news activity and propaganda activity can a totalitarian government engage in that a democratic government cannot? Should a democratic government attempt to protect its citizens from totalitarian propaganda? What should the citizens and citizens' groups do to check Axis propaganda?

4. Can a democratic government have a "propaganda policy"? Does total war require a propaganda policy in order to win?

5. To what extent does morale depend upon propaganda? Cite instances in which propaganda has weakened the morale and will-to-fight of a nation at war.

6. What recommendations would you make for the furthering of the "strategy of truth"? How great is the importance of criticism of the war effort in a democracy in wartime?

SUGGESTED READINGS

ALLEN, FREDERICK L., *et al.*, "What Is Wrong with American Propaganda?" *Free World*, March, 1942. *Experts make recommendations on what the propaganda policy should be.*

ALLPORT, GORDON W. *Liabilities and Assets in Civilian Morale.* "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." Philadelphia, July, 1941. *States respects in which morale may depend upon propaganda.*

"Battle of Babble," *Time*, February 16, 1942. *Current picture of the short-wave propaganda war.*

CANTRIL, HADLEY, "Propaganda for Victory," *New Republic*, February 23, 1942. *Argues the need for a propaganda program.*

CASEY, RALPH D., *The Press, Propaganda, and Pressure Groups.* "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." Philadelphia, January, 1942.

CREEL, GEORGE, "Propaganda and Morale," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1941. *Argues that morale needs the support of a propaganda.*

FARAGO, LADISLAS, "The Morale Offensive against the United States," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1941. *An analysis of German propaganda action and suggestions for methods of defense by counterpropaganda and censorship.*

FREIFELD, SIDNEY A., "The War of Nerves in the News," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, February, 1942. *How the Axis funnels propaganda through the American press.*

HARTSHORNE, EDWARD Y., "Reactions to the Nazi Threat: A Study of Propaganda and Culture Conflict," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, winter, 1941. *An examination of Nazi propaganda, showing that it consists of six main types: (1) conversion propaganda; (2) terror propaganda; (3) countermores propaganda; (4) disruption propaganda; (5) soporific propaganda; and (6) appeasement propaganda.*

JOHNSON, GERALD W., "Newspapers on Guard," *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1942. *The difficulty of news-reporting in the present war period.*

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD, "The American Cause," *Survey Graphic*, January, 1941. *A statement of what American democracy is.*

———, "To the Class of '41," *Nation*, June 21, 1941. *The minds of youth are a crucial battleground in our time.*

MCMILLAN, GEORGE E., "Government Publicity and the Impact of War," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, fall, 1941. *Report on the government information services.*

SIEPMANN, CHARLES, "Radio's Big Chance," *New Republic*, January 12, 1942. *Argues that present radio practices do not contribute to morale.*

"What the Germans Have To Say on Foreign Radio Propaganda," *Inside Germany Reports*, February, 1942. *An "underground" report on German reaction to Allied propaganda broadcasts.*

WILLIAMS, MARGARET HICKS, "The President's Office of Government Reports," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, winter, 1941. *A report on an agency charged with the responsibility of giving information to the public about the government.*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating side lights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast-discussion of "What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?" February 22, 1942.*

*

Curriculum

I listened with interest to your radio program yesterday afternoon on the subject of Education and the War. I was very surprised, as well as pleased, to find that the noted educators who appeared on the program have discovered what the average, ordinary, run-of-the-mill citizen has known for quite some time: that the educational system of this country has fallen down on the job and has not educated for participation in democracy.

Toward the end of the discussion one of the participants brought up the question regarding the teaching of fact regarding labor organization and consumer co-operatives. This was quickly snowed under with the implication that they were "too hot." . . . .

(*Continued on page 24*)

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Why not include the study of all of these groups, their organization, their function, and their scope? Facts regarding the place of these economic groups in our democracy could be presented and discussed in classrooms in an unbiased way. If they cannot be, then do away with the subterfuge and admit frankly that schools are indoctrinating, not educating. To beat about the bush, to peddle platitudes, garbed even in the most perfect phraseology, educators are filling the same place in our country as the educators and schools are filling in Germany. After all, what is the difference between being subservient to political power and being subservient to economic power?

A few of the things that should have a place in schools of this country are the discussion of poll taxes, the trend toward farm tenancy, corporate farms, our present tax system, to mention a few. Can democracy continue in a country where the people have lost title to the land? Are these things discussed in the average high-school classroom? If so, they are in a mild, harmless, uncertain way.

G. G., Wisconsin

*

Equal Rights

I listened with great interest and grave concern to your discussion Sunday on democracy. . . . .

The Negro subject was brought up by some very fair-minded speaker, but he was shunted from his argument. . . . .

The burglar is about to come into the house. The master who formerly had and still is beating his ever faithful dog stops beating him, pats him on the head, and says: "Sic him, Tow-

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ser; but be sure you use the back door. I don't want you to ever get used to using the front, because after you help me capture the burglar you are going to continue using the back door."

W. A. W., North Carolina

*

Your discussion had special meaning for me, a Negro, with regard to the theory of equality of opportunity as an integral democratic concept. May I commend you upon the frankness and straightforwardness with which the pertinent facts were presented.

I should like to hear on your program, however, just what concrete steps might be taken, what long-range program inaugurated (realizing that education of this sort can never be simple or decisive), in correcting the feelings and thoughts about such problems as face the Negro group.

P. A. G., Missouri

*

I wish to congratulate the gentleman who gave his idea of democracy as equal rights to all. I wish to express my gratitude for his courage in speaking of the Negro as he did.

O. M. W., Michigan

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR INTERPRETATION OF DEMOCRACY IN REFERENCE TO THE NEGRO.

REV. J. J. F., LOUISIANA

Note to Educators:

More and more teachers are reporting the effective use of ROUND TABLE transcripts in the study of contemporary problems. In a world of swiftly moving events only materials of this kind, designed for this use, can provide the basic study materials for classroom work in social studies, world-affairs, and community-life courses.

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LISTS

of 1938–40 Transcripts Still in Print Will Be Sent upon Request. Students and Teachers Will Find These Issues To Be Valuable Commentaries upon Events of the Period.

Nos. **1941**

150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
153. *Guns or Butter?*
154. *Dilemma in the Far East*
155. *How To Fight Nazi Propaganda*
156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
157. *Strikes and National Defense*
158. *Defense Economics*
161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
163. *Lessons from Europe's War*
164. *The Effect of the Blitzkrieg on the Economic Order*
166. *Roosevelt* vs. *Hitler*
169. *War against the Middle Classes?*
170. *The Crisis and Your Pocketbook*
173. *Our Liberties*
174. *Blueprint for Hemisphere Defense*
177. *Defense: Who'll Pay the Piper?*
178. *Japan: Setting Sun?*
179. *National Unity*
180. *Weapons of Economic War*
182. *Crisis of Capitalism*
185. *New Frontiers in Education and Research*

Nos.

186. *Anti-Semitism*
188. *Economics of Blitzkrieg*
189. *Showdown with Japan?*
190. *Science and War*
191. *Defense Inventory*
192. *The Philippines*
193. *Little Business: What Now?*
194. *Labor's Responsibility in Defense*
195. *Canada: Neighbor at War*
196. *Civil Rights and "Public Danger"*
197. *Manpower: The Key to Victory*
198. *What Does Rationing Mean?*

1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
200. *How To Meet the Menace of Inflation*
201. *Censorship*
202. *How United Are the Americas?*
203. *Are We Overconfident?*
204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
205. *What Should the Churches Do in War?*
206. *What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?* February 22

All Round Table Transcripts Contain Added Factual Material in the Form of Graphs, Maps, Pictographs, Footnotes, Bibliographies, Etc.

What Do You Know about the Enemy?

You should read: *Japan: Setting Sun?* (*178*) and *Showdown with Japan?* (*189*). These discussions, broadcast before America was attacked by Japan, contain valuable information about the economic strength, political structure, and motives of our enemy.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK OF 102 STATIONS

2:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WBAL	1090	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Wilmington, Dela.	WDEL	1150
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Zanesville, O.	WHIZ	1240

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1320
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Fort Worth, Texas	KGKO	570	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1360	10:30 P.M. E.S.T.
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	4:00 P.M. C.S.T.

Mobilizing the Home Front

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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MARCH 8, 1942

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JAMES M. LANDIS

Executive Director, Office of Civilian Defense

BRIGADIER GENERAL LORENZO GASSER, Representative of the War Department in the Office of Civilian Defense

ALBERT LEPAWSKY, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago; Director of the Institute of Public Service

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SUGGESTED READINGS

"Civilian Defense," *Architectural Forum* (Reference Number), January, 1942.

FISHER, GEORGE, "What Makes a Good Bomb Shelter?" *Vital Speeches,* February 15, 1942.

HARRIMAN, MARGARET CASE, "Bombs on the Melting Pot," *New Yorker,* February 7, 1942.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A·]